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OF

HON. LEVI LINCOLN,

PREPARED AGREEABLY TO A RESOLUTION

OF THE

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Levi Lincoln

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By EMORY WASHBURN.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRESS OF JOHN WILSON AND SON.
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BY EMORY WASHBURN.

The circumstances under which such a memoir as is proposed in the following pages, must, almost necessarily, be prepared, should serve as an apology for its defective execution. The work to be done is not sufficiently removed from the subject of it, to have had its relations to the historical events with which it is connected, sufficiently defined to do it justice; while, on the other hand, the personal relations of the writer to one with whom he had long been associated in the offices of courtesy and friendship, are in danger of giving to the work more of the character of a eulogy than an impartial biography. Such are some of the embarrassments which are to be anticipated, in undertaking to prepare a notice of the Hon. Levi Lincoln, in accordance with the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with which he was associated. The most that can be hoped, in the way of its execution, is, that the details here preserved may serve as materials for a more ample memoir of one who has been identified with so many of the events which have characterized the last half-century of the history of the country.

To do any thing like justice to the subject, it will be necessary to speak of his private, his professional, and his political

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life, in each of which he was eminent for the qualities which commanded the respect and esteem of the people of the Commonwealth.

The father of Governor Lincoln bore the same name, and was hardly less eminent than the son, in his professional and political career. He was born in Hingham, in 1749; and was graduated at Harvard in 1772. In 1775, he was admitted to the bar, and settled in the then rural village of Worcester. There were only two lawyers remaining in the county. The leading members of the profession had left the country, on account of their political antagonism to the prevailing sentiments of the people. By diligent devotion to business, with the skill and ability which he brought to the practice of his profession, he rose to high distinction as a lawyer, at the same time that he was taking a leading part in the political agitations of the day.

He was one of the two who were promoted to the rank of Barristers in that county after the Revolution. He was chosen to Congress in 1800; and, in the following year, was appointed by President Jefferson, Attorney-General of the United States. In 1807, he was chosen Lieutenant-Governor, and re-elected in 1808; and, upon the death of Governor Sullivan, became Acting Governor. In 1811, he was nominated to a place on the bench of the United-States Supreme Court, but declined it, on account of a growing defect of vision, which terminated in almost total blindness. He died in 1820, at the age of seventy-one. His wife was a daughter of Daniel Waldo, Esq., of Worcester.

Levi Lincoln, the subject of this notice, was the oldest of the children of this marriage. He was born on the 25th of October, 1782. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1802, in a class long distinguished by the eminent rank to which many of its members attained in the professions and in civil life, two only of whom still survive. Upon leaving college, he entered upon the study of the law, and was admitted to

the bar of the Court of Common Pleas in Worcester, in 1805. As the law then stood, it required two years' practice at that bar, before an admission could be gained to that of the Supreme Judicial Court, as an attorney; and two years more, before one could be made a counsellor. He began practice in Worcester; and, in due course, became attorney and counsellor in the Supreme Judicial Court. Among the men then at the bar, were Francis Blake, Jabez Upham, and Seth Hastings. And among those who were afterwards his contemporaries, and whom he survived, were John Davis and Samuel M. Burnside; whose names are a warrant for claiming for that bar a rank that, to win distinction or eminent success as a member of it, required a more than ordinary share of talent and ability. Mr. Lincoln, at once, gave an earnest of the success that awaited him, by the zeal and energy with which he engaged in the business of the profession, and the skill and good judgment with which he conducted the cases which he had in charge. His business rapidly increased; and, in a few years, he found himself among the leaders of that bar. To attain this, against such a competition as he had to contend with, must have required effort and talent of a high order, when it is remembered that Mr. Blake was one of the ablest advocates in Massachusetts.

Much of his success may be ascribed to the less dazzling and more commonplace qualities, which any man, of fair talents, may bring to the profession, — earnest devotion to whatever he had to do, fidelity to his clients, and a thorough preparation in every thing which he undertook. There was, moreover, in his intercourse with the bench and the bar, as well as with his clients, a courtesy of manner which, undoubtedly, aided him in winning his way as a lawyer. Something may also be ascribed to his early political associations, which brought him into connection with an active and earnest body of men, who were ready to repay, by their patronage and favor, the aid which he contributed to the cause in which they were engaged.

But every one acquainted with professional success in a lawyer, knows that something more is wanted than personal address, or political favor, to attain to eminence in the field which he has entered. The client does not choose his advocate because he is personally a popular favorite, but because he feels a confidence that his cause will be safe in his hands.

The professional labors of a lawyer, in country practice, such as that in which Mr. Lincoln engaged, were almost infinitely varied, as well as at times exceedingly complicated and perplexing. The duties of chamber counsel were mixed up with those of a scrivener and conveyancer, while the preparation and trial of jury causes were carried on at the same time that he must be investigating and applying the most profound principles of law, as well as its technical rules of detail, in the discussion of questions before the bench.

The consequence was, that his life, while at the bar, was exceedingly laborious. His services were greatly sought as a jury advocate; and although he always argued questions of law before the whole court, with a thorough preparation, and with acknowledged ability, it was before the jury that he achieved his most distinguished success. Nor were his efforts confined to his own county. His services were being sought in other parts of the State, to which he was called, when he was removed from that field of labor, and promoted to a place upon the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court.

Of his manner, and the elements of his success as an advocate, it may be more appropriate to speak in another place. But it may be remarked, in passing, that he illustrated in that, as in every other business or occupation in which he engaged, a thoroughness in whatever he had to do, that gave a dignity and importance to even the ordinary affairs of life. The duties, moreover, as well as the rewards of the profession, were in harmony with his taste and early training; and he never forgot or ceased to recall with pleasure, in after life, the period during which he was connected with it, or the associa-

tions which such memories awakened of the struggles by which he rose to the places of trust and honor which he afterwards was called to fill. Nor did he give up the idea, which he cherished for many years, of returning to it, until quite a late period in his life.

In February, 1824, a vacancy having occurred upon the Bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, by the resignation of Judge Thacher, Mr. Lincoln, then Lieutenant-Governor of the State, was appointed, by Governor Eustis, to the place. The selection was generally acceptable to the profession, and was received with great favor by the people of the Commonwealth. The bitterness of party feeling which had, at one time, divided the people, had been losing much of its severity; and had prepared them to welcome, on both sides, the nomination which was now made. And the manner in which he performed its duties fully justified his selection for the office. He had a just and appreciative sense of its dignity and importance, and addressed himself, at once, to meet its responsibilities. His preparation at the bar had familiarized him with its details; and his habits of investigating difficult and complicated questions, as a lawyer, were of immense advantage to him in weighing arguments, and reaching conclusions as a judge. If an overcrowded and busy life had left him little leisure to gather up the learning which is found in the books, the quickness and tact with which he brought the results of his reading and experience to bear upon the questions upon which he was called to pass, left little to be desired which his diligence did not readily supply. These remarks are fully justified by an administration of a little more than a year, during which time he had occasion to prepare opinions upon questions of importance, which have ever since been regarded as leading and authoritative statements of the law, upon the subjects to which they relate. A new sphere of activity was about to open to Mr. Lincoln, while that of the bar and the bench became practically closed. But

he always spoke of his connection with these with affectionate regret, and retained to the last a high sense of the dignity and importance of the profession to which he had devoted twenty years of earnest and hopeful labor. He was now entering upon the more eminent and attractive period of his public career. He had taken an active part in the political discussions of the day, and, at length, was to assume the Chief Magistracy, and become the political head of the Commonwealth. In this case, however, it did not imply the leadership of a party.

This is no place or occasion to discuss the merits of the questions which divided the country at the time when Mr. Lincoln began active life. But the earnestness with which they were discussed, and the extent to which personal feeling became enlisted in the maintenance of the issues upon which opinions were divided, can hardly be conceived from any thing which is witnessed in the political discussions of our own day. His father had not only been in sympathy with Mr. Jefferson in his political views, from judgment and conviction, but shared largely in his personal confidence and regard. He was a zealous "Republican," as those who were opposed to the Federal party were then called. The party was a rising one, and professing to represent the popular democratic element in the government, it was not surprising that the son should have early felt these influences, and, when he came to act, should have thrown himself with the zeal and ardor of a young man into the contest. His family connection, his ready eloquence, and his popular address soon gave him a commanding influence in his party, and attracted a corresponding disposition to censure and animadvert upon his course, on the part of those who were opposed to him. Bitter things were said of him, and harsh epithets applied to the measures he advocated, and the policy he espoused. In contrast with the circumstances under which he was raised to the chair of the Chief Magis-

trate, it would be suggestive as well as instructive to copy from the partisan press of that day the language in which men and their motives were dealt with, on the one side and the other, and to remember that there is nothing like the logic of events to break down the barriers which separate men in their opinions, and to bring them together upon a common basis. Such was, eminently, true in the case of Governor Lincoln. The Federalists had uniformly been in the ascendent in Massachusetts, until 1807, when, for the first time, a "Republican" Governor was elected. In 1812, Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Senate from the County of Worcester. And so prominent had he already become in the State, that he was selected by that body to prepare the formal customary answer, to the message of Governor Strong, who had been elected by the Federal party. This election to the Senate seems to have been the first of that series of popular elections for which the political course of Mr. Lincoln became distinguished.

In 1814, he was elected a representative to the General Court, from the town of Worcester, but found himself in a minority, in that body. At no time, perhaps, before or since, was party excitement in the Commonwealth more intense or active than in that year. It was in the midst of the war with Great Britain. There was a strong feeling on the part of large numbers in New England, that her interests had been neglected by the General Government, that the war was unnecessary, and that the policy of the administration was illiberal and unwise, and counter to the spirit and intent of the Constitution. An additional cause of excitement on the part of Massachusetts was awakened in the circumstance that a portion of her territory had been seized and occupied by the enemy. But while the Federal party were thus embittered towards the national administration, there was a growing disposition among the people, as the war progressed, to sustain it. And in the election of Governor in the spring of 1814, the majority for

the Federal candidate scarcely exceeded one hundred, in a vote of more than 102,000. The majority, however, in the Legislature was large and decisive. The feeling which had been growing stronger, with their losses and reverses in the war, culminated at last in a resolution for appointing "delegates from this Legislature to meet and confer with delegates from the States of New England, or any of them, upon the subjects of their public grievances and concerns, and upon the best means of preserving our resources, and of defence against the enemy, and to devise and suggest, for adoption by those respective States, such measures as they may deem expedient; and also, to take measures, if they shall think proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States, in order to revise the constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of *all* the people, by placing *all* upon the basis of fair representation."

This resolution has been transcribed in full, as a part of the history of the times, and especially of the convention which assembled at Hartford, in December, 1814, the memory of which is still associated with the odium which the real or affected apprehensions of the public, at large, attached to it at the time. And yet it is difficult to find in the language made use of, or the character of the men who took part in it, any thing to justify the censure to which it was subjected. Whatever cause of apprehension or alarm there was in calling such a convention, is to be sought in the circumstances under which it was held. At the present day, it would serve for the excitement of an hour, and be forgotten in something equally grave which might arise to engage public curiosity and attention.

At the time, however, it was doubtless a matter of serious import. The resolution was carried by a vote of 260 to 90. A minority both of the Senate and House made separate protests against the adoption of the resolution. That on the part of the House was drawn by Mr. Lincoln, and signed by

seventy-five members besides himself. The language of the remonstrance justifies the remark just made, when it says, "The undersigned therefore cannot disguise their apprehensions, that more must be designed than is distinctly avowed."

Among the consequences which they anticipated from the measure, as expressed by them, were that "Jealousy and contention will ensue. The Constitution, hitherto respected as the charter of national liberty and consecrated as the ark of our political safety, will be violated and destroyed; and in civil dissensions and convulsions our independence will be annihilated." Fortunately, though the convention was held, no such disastrous consequences followed; and the actors in the scene, on both sides, lived to appreciate the honesty of each others' motives, and to respect the sentiment which prompted the ardor of their zeal. As an index, however, of the feeling which prevailed at the time, the fact should be stated, that this protest, though respectful in its terms and signed by so large a number of members, was refused a place upon the Journal of the House. With such a lesson from the past, one can hardly fail to look hopefully upon the future of our popular frame of government, which seems to gather strength from every struggle through which it has been called to pass. From 1814 to 1822, inclusive, with the exception of three years, when he declined being a candidate, Mr. Lincoln was a member of the House of Representatives. The last of these years, he was elected Speaker, although the majority of the House and the Governor were of the opposite school of politics. The truth is, that political asperity was fast giving way to a better state of feeling; and the tact and independence which Mr. Lincoln had displayed in his long experience in legislative proceedings, had fitted him admirably for the place. Nor did he disappoint the House. He combined promptness with accuracy, firmness with urbanity, and dignity with impartiality, in presiding over their deliberations. Few incumbents of the office have ever

excelled, if they have equalled him, in the qualities which constitute an able and acceptable Speaker.

In 1820, in consequence of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, it became necessary to amend or modify the constitution of her government. A convention for that purpose was accordingly called. And in the selection of members, the people chose their best and ablest men. No body of men ever surpassed them, in Massachusetts, for wisdom, personal and social influence, patriotism and practical sagacity. The various professions and callings in life were ably represented. Judges of the highest courts, and statesmen of the broadest experience, with the ripest scholars, had a place in its deliberations. When the names of John Adams, Chief-Justice Parker, Judges Wilde and Story, Webster, Quincy, Shaw, and Hubbard, afterwards of the Supreme Court, Hoar, and Saltonstall, are mentioned among its members, it is hardly necessary to add, that to take a leading part in the business of such a convention, must have called for a high order of talent, as well as great personal influence and respect. Mr. Lincoln was one of its members. In his political views and opinions he differed from many of his associates. He early engaged in its discussions, and showed himself a ready and effective debater. He never hesitated to avow and defend his opinions; and this, at least, may be said, if he did not convince his opponents, he did not lose their respect, nor fail to command the attention of the convention. The part which he took in giving shape and consistency to the constitution might justify a fuller notice of the subjects which engaged his more immediate attention, but this can only be done by a reference to its reported debates, which would exceed the limits of the present memoir.

The separation of Maine from Massachusetts involved, moreover, the adjustment of important interests between them, such as the division of the public lands; and a commission for this purpose was created, upon which Mr. Lincoln held a prominent place.

In tracing the elevation of Mr. Lincoln to the post of Chief Magistrate, it is necessary to say a single word of the change through which the Commonwealth had been passing in its political views. The Democratic party, as it was ultimately called, had been gradually gaining strength; and the course of the dominant party in the State, during the war with England, had given occasion for a considerable defection from its support, especially among the younger portion of her citizens. With the removal, however, of the original grounds of disaffection and dispute, the feeling thereby engendered gradually died away, so that the second term of Mr. Monroe's administration was spoken of as "the era of good feeling"; his election having been all but unanimous, as there was but one vote against him, out of 231. This took place in 1820. While this feeling prevailed in respect to the national elections, the lines still remained pretty distinctly drawn in Massachusetts. Governor Brooks held office from 1816 to 1823. In the latter year, Governor Eustis, who was of opposite politics, succeeded him; and Mr. Lincoln was chosen Lieutenant-Governor. But this state of things was fast passing away. At the presidential election in 1823, Mr. Lincoln was one of the electors, on the part of Massachusetts, and cast a vote for John Quincy Adams. In 1824, Mr. Lathrop was nominated as a candidate for Governor against Governor Eustis, receiving 34,000 votes to 38,000 for the latter. Governor Eustis died in February, 1825. The parties seem to have made this an occasion for coming together, and agreeing upon some one whom both might support for the vacant place. Mr. Lathrop declined to be a candidate again for the office, and Mr. Lincoln declined being a candidate upon a Democratic nomination, because he was unwilling to stand in the way of unanimity in the action of the two parties; whereupon, it was voted by the Federal Convention that it was not expedient to make a party nomination, and, upon a ballot for a candidate for the office of Governor, Mr. Lincoln received a

unanimous vote. And, of the thirty-seven thousand votes cast at the election in 1825, he received thirty-five thousand, and entered upon the office the last Wednesday of May, 1825.

In order to understand and appreciate the character of the labor upon which he now engaged, it will be necessary to recall, for a moment, the prior history of the Commonwealth. Forty-two years had indeed elapsed since the treaty of peace consummated the war of independence; and thirty-seven, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. But it ought not to be forgotten, how many had been the causes of embarrassment in the way of reducing the affairs of the Commonwealth to a condition of order, and establishing its industrial, educational, and economical interests upon a satisfactory basis.

She had come out of the war borne down with a weight of debt, which left her little power to do any thing beyond devising means to meet the interest upon it. The message of the Governor in 1786 stated the proper debt of Massachusetts, independent of her share of the Federal debt, at over £1,600,000, requiring an annual interest of over £88,000. The alarming outbreak of lawless violence, known as Shays's Rebellion, was a culmination of the discontent arising from this impoverishment of the State, the general prostration of business incident to such a debt, and the unsettled state of public credit. Moreover, till considerably into the present century, the avenues to wealth were confined to agriculture, commerce, and the fisheries. Manufactures took their rise within the recollection of many now on the stage of action. Even the sources of business and occupation which did exist, became cramped and embarrassed by the embargo of 1807, and the subsequent derangement of our commerce up to the close of the war of 1812. In the meantime, business and capital were seeking other avenues, and required the aid and countenance of the government. The war, moreover, had engrossed much of the attention of the

public mind. So that these and a variety of like causes and circumstances had operated to prevent that attention to the domestic institutions of the State, on the part of its rulers, which their importance might otherwise have claimed. Our manufacturing system was to be built up. Our schools were hardly improved from the condition in which they were left at the close of the Revolution. The arrangement of our prisons and the whole subject of prison discipline were in a very low and unsatisfactory state. Our means of internal trade and intercourse had not risen above the few lines of turnpike-road and stage coaches, which maintained a precarious struggle for success. Nor is it too much to say, that the trade and business of Massachusetts, at the time of Governor Lincoln's accession to the executive chair, were in such a problematical condition, that an indifference towards them on his part and that of the Legislature would have long retarded, if it had not ultimately paralyzed, them. Fortunately for the Commonwealth, it found in him, not only a chief magistrate who understood the wants of its citizens, but one who was ready to devote an unwearied and unremitting effort to take care of and advance to the utmost, her social, political, and economical interests of every description. In his inaugural message, he refers to several of them, and calls for an early attention to them. A favorite scheme for internal communication at that time was the construction of a canal from Boston to Connecticut River. This he refers to, with favor, and suggests that he has been assured that another mode, by railways, had been approved of in England. But "how far they would be affected by our severe frosts cannot be conjectured yet," and whether they are better than canals remained to be determined. He speaks with approbation of the encouragement recently given to agriculture, by the incorporation of societies, and calls upon the Legislature to relieve the manufacturing interests, by a change of the law which held stockholders in corporations liable, personally, for the

debts of their company to an unlimited extent. He accompanies these statements with the suggestive fact that commerce was falling off, and reminds the Legislature of the necessity of prompt measures in favor of a revival of the trade and business of the State. In his message in January, 1826, he again presses the subject of a canal; and this he repeats in that of June that year, and states reasons why canals are preferable to railways.

As an illustration of the candor and good sense with which he treated questions of a public nature, it may be stated that the experience of civil engineering had thus far been, chiefly, in the direction of canals. That of the Duke of Bridgewater in England had been eminently successful. The Erie Canal had been completed in 1825, and was then in full and satisfactory operation, while that from Worcester to Providence was in a state of great forwardness. There was a general feeling, moreover, that something must be done to aid the business of Boston, or her decline in wealth and population would be inevitable. The canals then in progress and in contemplation would have the effect to divert the trade from the counties west of Middlesex to the Narraganset Bay and the Sound. At the June session of 1826, a motion had been made for a committee to consider and report upon the subject of a railroad from Boston to the North River, near Albany. And though it met with no approval, it had been adopted, and the committee reported in favor of such a measure. This, it will be recollected, was before a locomotive had been constructed; and horse-power, alone, was contemplated as the means of draught. Nor is it easy now to conceive, with what incredulity and ridicule the proposition was at first received. The report of the committee, however, received at the hands of Governor Lincoln all the consideration which the subject deserved; and, although he had already in a measure committed himself to the scheme of a canal, he did not allow his preconceived opinions to stand in the way of

the measure. In his message of January, 1827, he says: "Their report will come recommended by the assurance that their attention has been perseveringly directed to the interesting objects of their commission; and that, short of the expense and labor of a board of scientific engineers, a better source of authentic information could not be resorted to by the government." The subject, when thus broached, acquired so much importance in the public mind, that a Board of Internal Improvement was established by an act of the Legislature in 1828, to consist of nine persons; and Governor Lincoln was placed at its head. Under their advice and encouragement, a system of railroads was inaugurated; and in just fifteen years from the date of the report which encountered such ridicule for the wildness of the scheme it proposed, the road from Boston to Albany was opened for travel.

Among the railroads incorporated during the administration of Governor Lincoln, was that from Boston to the "City of Lowell," in 1829, though the name of that city had no place upon the map of Massachusetts at the time of his inauguration. It would be easy to dwell more at large upon the system of internal improvements, which took its rise during this administration, and to which he lent a prompt and efficient aid, and to trace the growth and increased prosperity of the Commonwealth in connection with the progress of these enterprises. But to do so would require a larger space than can properly be allowed for a personal memoir. In reminding the reader that the products of the industry of Massachusetts in the year ending in May, 1865, exceeded five hundred millions of dollars, it would require no labored effort to show that something more was wanting than soil and climate, or the individual toil and labor of the citizen, to work out such gratifying results. Facilities for trade and intercourse were not the only objects of the care and encouragement of Governor Lincoln. As already stated, home industry, in the form of manufactures of various kinds, was a subject

of special interest to him. In the then condition of the arts of manufacture, he saw the wisdom of fostering them by the action of the government. In his public messages and addresses, he maintained the policy of encouraging and protecting home industry, and, in one of them, in 1826, referred for illustration, to the "villages" of Lowell and Ware, when the term "village" was still applicable, alike, to both. He presided at a public meeting in Boston of the growers and manufacturers of wool, the following year, and in that year was chosen President of the New-England Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts. His relation to the agriculture of the State will be mentioned in another connection. The countenance and encouragement rendered by the chief magistrate of the State to the cause of American industry, in its early struggles for success, had a value and importance which can hardly be appreciated in a community in which its interests are so thoroughly established as they now are here. This was felt and acknowledged at a time when the manufacturer had not only to contend with competition from abroad, but adverse laws at home; and it should not be forgotten now that a wiser policy has become the settled conviction of the public mind, and the Commonwealth is reaping the fruits of such a policy.

A subject which gave Governor Lincoln early and anxious solicitude, was the condition of the State Prison, and the system of discipline prevailing in the treatment and management of prisoners. To understand this, it should be borne in mind, that the former barbarous custom of whipping, cropping, and shutting-up in dungeons and jails, in idleness, those who had been convicted of crimes, had, for many years, been discontinued. An important step towards a penitentiary system of punishment had already been taken by the erection of a prison at Charlestown, and by requiring of its inmates a certain amount of labor in shops within the prison-yard. But the idea of solitary or sepa-

rate confinement, when not engaged in labor, had been developed, for the first time, at the Auburn Penitentiary, almost coincident with the election of Governor Lincoln. He found the inmates of the prison at Charlestown lodged in large rooms, containing, in some cases, sixteen persons, where they were shut up together, thus subjecting the yet unhardened convict to the certain process of hopeless corruption and remediless ruin. They were literally festering in each other's defilement, under the pretence of correction and reform. In his annual message of January, 1826, Governor Lincoln gives a graphic picture of the condition of these inmates, and adds, in characteristic terms, "Better even that the laws should be written in blood, than thus be executed in sin." He recommended substituting for such a prison one upon the plan of that at Auburn; and, under his auspices, a most important reform was early accomplished.

The subject of the condition of the insane in the Commonwealth attracted the attention of the Legislature as early as 1827. The idea of curing insanity by medical care and treatment was entertained but by few in the community; while many of those who were suffering under this malady were shut up in jails and cages, or subjected to rigid and severe restraint in solitude and neglect, and cut off from every hope or chance of restoration. In 1829, an act was passed for the erection and establishment of a State Lunatic Hospital, in the location and construction of which, as well as the completeness of its appointments, Governor Lincoln took an active and lively interest. In 1832, he issued his proclamation, opening it for the public use, and thereby offering comfort and kind and skilful treatment to that unfortunate class of suffering humanity.

The subject of popular education was one in which he always manifested an interest, as well before as after his term of office, and was made a prominent theme in his official messages and addresses. To him, it is believed, the Com-

monwealth owes the inauguration of the measures which resulted in that essential element in her present common-school system, the *Normal School.* In his message of Jan. 7, 1826, he refers to the suggestion of an institution to qualify teachers, and commends the measure to "the fostering patronage of the Legislature." He renews this in stronger terms in his message of June following, and again urges its importance in a more distinct and definite form, in that of January, 1827. These recommendations were so far matured that in February, 1828, the Committee of the Legislature on Education reported a bill providing for the establishment of a school fund, to be, among other things, "appropriated to the endowment of an institution for the instruction of school-teachers in each county of the Commonwealth." But the measure, for some reason, was not then carried; though it never seems to have been lost sight of, till it resulted in a Normal School, such as the Commonwealth is now enjoying.

A circumstance connected with the administration of Governor Lincoln, may be mentioned, as tending to show the independence with which he met its responsibilities. Although the Constitution had been adopted in 1780, giving to the Executive the right of Veto, it had never been exercised by any of his predecessors. An act incorporating a musical society, in Salem, had been passed, and sent to him for his approval. But, while he was a strenuous advocate for that system of business corporations by which small capitalists could unite and manage their resources to advantage, without the embarrassments of large copartnerships, he was not for needlessly multiplying these artificial persons, where the power and influence of numbers could be directed and controlled by a few active managers, and the responsible influence of individuals be thus lost upon a community. And believing that the proposed corporation was of the latter class, he interposed his veto to its passage, in which he was sustained by the Legislature. But the more important matter upon which he

felt called upon to exercise this power, was one which had for some time excited much interest in the eastern part of the State, and became mixed up with its legislation, by the influence of those who were immediately concerned in the scheme. That was the erection of a bridge over Charles River, between Charlestown and Boston, side by side with the one already built, and opening it to the free use of the public. The obvious effect of this measure would be to destroy the value of the old bridge, which was originally erected by a private corporation, with a right to take toll, and the shares in which had become very valuable. Relying upon the supposed pledge of the government, that the moneys thus invested should be secure under the protection of the law, large amounts of the capital stock were held by trustees, charities, and persons retired from business. Opposed to these were those who paid toll for the accommodation provided by such a bridge, and the owners of property, who believed that a free highway, between Boston and its suburbs, would enhance its value. And it is hardly necessary to add, that it was not difficult, in such a controversy, to enlist the weight of numbers in favor of the measure. The question that underlay the whole subject, was, What, in fact, did the Legislature grant to the proprietors of the Charles-River Bridge, by their original charter? On the one side, it was insisted, that the charter for the bridge was a compact between the Commonwealth and those who were willing to invest their money in the enterprise, by becoming stockholders in its capital; that the latter should erect and maintain a bridge for the use of the public (who would pay a reasonable toll for its accommodation), and, as a consideration for that, they should have the chance of being reimbursed for their moneys expended in the work, by enjoying the line of travel which was thereby to be accommodated, without any act on the part of the Commonwealth to divert it, or deprive them of it. Those who treated it as a simple grant of a franchise insisted that there was nothing, in the terms of

it, which limited the power of the Commonwealth to erect, or authorize others to erect, any number of bridges, which the Legislature might judge to be of public utility. But while the discussions, to which the question gave rise, involved these points of radical difference, they elicited a sharp controversy, in which there was much feeling. This found its way into the Legislature, and threatened to be visited upon any one who should come out in opposition to the popular cry for free avenues of business. With the minority in that body, it was a broader question than the technical limitation of that particular grant, and reached to the general policy of good faith on the part of the government. It had a bearing upon future enterprises, requiring the employment of associated capital. Even if, in the letter of the grant, the Legislature had not restricted their right of granting new charters, it was too plain for contradiction, that both they who granted the original charter, and they who advanced their money under it, understood that there should be a reciprocal benefit to the public and the stockholders, and that the Legislature could not, in good faith, take away, without compensation, what they had implicitly granted, after having received, in return, every thing which they had required of the holders of the charter. But so strong was the feeling in the House, when the question of a "free bridge" came up for consideration, that an effort to delay the subject, even for a few days, to give members an opportunity to examine it, was defeated; and, after a sharp but able and elaborate debate, it was carried by a strong vote. Some of the ablest men in the House opposed it with signal ability; and the whole merits of the proposition were canvassed, but without changing the determination of the majority. When, therefore, the question of approval came before the Governor, he was obliged to meet it upon its own merits; and if he opposed the popular sentiment under which it had been carried, he saw that he must encounter the odium of disappointed partisans, and the strong current

of public feeling in its favor. But he did not shrink from the responsibility, nor seek to evade the performance of an unpleasant duty. He was satisfied, on the whole, that the act ought not to pass; and he fearlessly said so, in a veto message of great ability, which will remain a perpetual memorial of his sense of justice, his regard for the faith and honor of the Commonwealth, and his manly independence in maintaining his opinion of what was right and duty, against the pressure of popular clamor. Though the bill was carried through the succeeding Legislature, and was afterwards sustained by the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, there was nothing in their judgment which impugned the soundness of the views upon which the veto of the Governor had been based. A protest of a most respectable minority of the Legislature against the passage of the act was entered upon its records, and sustained the wisdom and policy of the Executive in interposing his disapproval of it as a legislative measure.

While calling to mind the purity of motive and firmness of purpose, with which he performed the duties of his office, as the Governor of the State and not of a party, by which his administration was uniformly characterized, there was a circumstance connected with the exercise of the appointing power, which ought not to pass unnoticed. By the sudden and lamented death of Chief-Justice Parker, of the Supreme Judicial Court, it became necessary to fill the place by some one to be nominated by the Executive. It will be recollected, that with the remaining members of that court his relations had ever been of the most intimate and friendly character. He had been one of their associates upon the Bench; and he knew, therefore, the high estimate in which they were justly held by the community and the Bar, for those qualities which distinguish an upright and able judge. It would have been a grateful exercise of his prerogative, and one in which the public would have cheerfully acquiesced, to have promoted one of

their number to the vacant place. He knew, however, the importance of the position. It was second to none in the Commonwealth. It demanded high qualifications, and talents of a most varied character. It was, therefore, an object of far greater interest on the part of Governor Lincoln in selecting a candidate, to find one whose competency for the place was undoubted, than to gratify any personal preferences of his own. And the wisdom of his choice was justified by the long and brilliant administration of Chief-Justice Shaw, upon whom the appointment fell. He, at once, established a claim to the highest rank as a jurist. And for honesty, uprightness, and devotion to duty, his record is without a spot. His selection for the place, and the circumstances under which it was made, reflect the highest credit for sagacity, good judgment, and personal independence, upon the course pursued by Governor Lincoln in this delicate and responsible duty.

But it is not within the purpose of this memoir, to dwell, in detail, upon the measures in which Governor Lincoln took a part, during his then unprecedented continuous term of office. Of the estimate in which he was held as a magistrate, no evidence is needed beyond the uninterrupted succession of elections until 1834, when he voluntarily withdrew from being any longer a candidate. Nor is it too much to say, that he retired from the place with the universal respect and grateful esteem of his fellow-citizens. He had come into office at a time when it required, in the chief magistrate, talents and qualities of a high and varied character, sound judgment, broad and liberal views, a familiarity with details, a skill in the adaptation of means to ends, a knowledge of men and an unselfish desire to advance the best interests of the Commonwealth. The summary which even this imperfect sketch has given of what was accomplished for the promotion of the establishment and improvement of her industry, her schools, her institutions of charity for the unfortunate, and of reform for the criminal, would justify what many have been ready to

claim for his administration, a distinguished success which has not been surpassed by that of any of the illustrious chief magistrates of the Commonwealth. One circumstance might have been mentioned, in passing, which served to show a singleness of purpose on his part, while it indicated the estimate in which he was held by the Legislature. Upon the expiration of Mr. Mills's term of office as Senator in Congress, an attempt was made to elect a successor in February, 1827. Several ballotings were had, in which the House and Senate cast their votes for different candidates. At one of these, the Senate, by a vote of 26 out of 39, chose Governor Lincoln, on the part of that branch. But before the House had an opportunity to concur or otherwise, he addressed a communication to the latter body, declining to be considered a candidate for the place; and no one was elected during the session.

Upon retiring from the office of Governor, Mr. Lincoln found that he had been obliged to make such considerable drafts upon his private resources to meet the requirements of the place, that he made up his mind to resume business in his original profession, and had made an arrangement for the formation of a copartnership with that view, when, upon the urgent solicitation of his fellow-citizens, he consented to be a candidate to fill the vacancy in Congress, occasioned by the election of Governor Davis, as his successor. He was elected to that and the three succeeding Congresses; and here he was distinguished for the same habits and qualities which had characterized him in whatever place he had been previously called to fill. He was constant in his attendance, diligent in his attention to business, and intelligent and independent in his action. Though decided in his political views, and uncompromising in his advocacy of what he considered a sound national policy, he never would lend himself to a factious opposition, nor consent to be a party to a scheme of questionable propriety or honor. An instance of this occurred during the canvass for President, at the election of General Harrison. Among the things charged against

President Van Buren, and designed to create a prejudice against him in the minds of certain classes in the community, was the luxurious style in which he lived, and the extravagance in which he indulged by an ostentatious display of table and other furniture. The doctrine that "all is fair in politics" was liberally applied in the campaign of 1840, and a member from Pennsylvania made himself famous by the manner in which he arraigned the President in a speech upon the floor of Congress, for the use of "gold spoons" and other articles of luxury upon his dinner-table. This was received with great favor in certain quarters, but it was little suited to the taste or sense of decency of Mr. Lincoln, who rose at once to reply to what he regarded as an unwarranted and undignified attack upon the occupant of the Executive Mansion. He was unwilling that even a good cause should borrow aid from so questionable a means of attack, and he proceeded to show that the charge of extravagance was unfounded, and that, even if it were true, the incumbent of the White House was not responsible for the expenditure. The circumstance is nowise important except as showing a characteristic sense of honor that instinctively spurned to carry a measure by base or underhand expedients. Mr. Lincoln frequently took part in the debates in Congress, and several of his more elaborate speeches were published, and might be more specifically referred to. But, beyond showing the care he always manifested to make himself master of his subject, and the directness with which he engaged in the discussions in which he took a part, it would be of little use to dwell upon them more at length. One thing, however, may, with justice, be said of Mr. Lincoln's Congressional career; and that is, his course was such as to command the respect of the House. He never obtruded himself for the purpose of display, he never came to the discussion of a question without being prepared, he never tired the House by dull harangues, and never forgot his self-respect in bitter language or undignified retort. The consequence was, he could always command attention; and his

opinions had the weight of well-considered judgments of a fair and intelligent mind.

Upon the coming into office of General Harrison, in March, 1841, an effort was made by many of the leading merchants of Boston, to have Mr. Lincoln placed at the head of the Customs in that city; and he was early commissioned as Collector of that port, in accordance with this expressed desire. He held the office till September, 1843, to the acceptance of all who had occasion to come in contact with him in the way of advice or business. They found him ever prompt, impartial, and courteous, and were ready to accord to him the qualities of a faithful, dilligent, and attentive public officer. But there is little material for biography in a mere life of business. Its details would be as tiresome as the drudgery of its daily routine.

After leaving the Custom House, he engaged, with renewed pleasure, in the care and cultivation of his beautiful estate in Worcester, but served as a Senator from that county during the years 1844 and 1845. In the latter of these, he presided over that body, bringing to the place the same freshness of interest and promptness in details, that he had evinced while a member of that board more than thirty years before.

In 1848, he was appointed by the Legislature a presidential elector, and was chosen to preside over the Electoral College. And in 1864, for the third time, he was elected a member of the Electoral College, and helped to cast the vote of the State, a second time, for one who, under Providence, had carried the country through the fearful ordeal of a civil war. And no one who had met him, for the first time, on that occasion, could have imagined that the erect, cheerful, and courteous gentleman whom he then saw, had cast an electoral vote for John Quincy Adams, forty years before, when, with the mature experience of a Judge of the Supreme Court, he was called upon to execute that important trust. Indeed, Time seemed to have dealt so kindly and gently with him, that his friends forgot that he had passed the climacteric of fourscore years, when, with the

step and erectness and grace of a man in middle life, he entered the Council Chamber to perform the grateful duty committed by his fellow-citizens to his charge.

But in this we have somewhat anticipated the events of his life, which are yet to be noticed. Under the fostering influences of that policy which he had so strongly advocated, the village of Worcester, upon his entering on his public career, had, in 1848, become a city of seventeen thousand people. Mr. Lincoln was elected, that year, the first Mayor of the city, and at once entered upon the duties of organizing and conducting the affairs of this new municipality. He served for a year in that office, evincing the same exact attention to its details which he had shown in every place which he had been called to fill, and, at the same time, dignifying it by the manner in which he sustained its more imposing duties and relations. The work of giving form and consistency to a newly organized municipal government, and adapting it to the condition of a rapidly growing and thriving industry, was one requiring much thought and a constant oversight; and it was fortunate for that city that it could command the services of so faithful and capable a magistrate to meet the requirements of the occasion.

But it is doubtful if, of all the places of honor and distinction to which Governor Lincoln was called by his fellow-citizens, there was any one which he enjoyed more highly, or entered into with a keener relish and satisfaction than that of President of the Worcester County Agricultural Society. His tastes and early habits were associated with rural life. The Worcester of his boyhood was an agricultural community, and the broad acres and fine culture of his father's farm early indoctrinated him with a knowledge of the details of a farmer's life, and a taste for agriculture as a liberal pursuit. The agricultural society of the county was formed in 1818, and was one of the earliest in the State. His father was its first president, and he was himself elected to that office in 1824. He held the place by successive

elections till 1852. For many years, it was the only society in the county. Its annual cattle-show drew together the leading men, not only of the county, but, often, many from other parts of the Commonwealth. It was the great holiday of the county, when the farmer and the man of business, the scholar and the statesman, came there to do honor to the skill and pursuits of the husbandman, and to enjoy the society of the men of culture and intelligence which the occasion drew together. The central and active spirit of the association was its president, whose presence and influence were felt and witnessed in all its details. On no occasion was the profuse and elegant hospitality for which his house was always distinguished more liberally displayed than on these gatherings. On the last anniversary of this Society, Governor Bullock paid a beautiful and fitting tribute to their late President, in which he spoke of his knowledge of the science of agriculture, of his fondness for its pursuits, of his love of trees and his care for their culture and preservation, of his almost poetical fondness for flowers, and the beautiful things which make the garden so attractive to the man of refined taste; and in referring to this trait of hospitality, as exhibited on the occasion to which we have referred, he said: "His hospitality after the labors of the show-day were over, when committee-men assembled under his roof to condense in the fellowship of the evening, the somewhat diversified and perhaps somewhat incoherent lessons of the field and the press, will long be remembered by every one who shared it. The best farmers from distant towns went away with an enlarged sense of the elevation and importance of their vocation, and felt encouraged to strive more stoutly in the next year's competition."

All that was here said of his admirably managed farm, of his fine stock, of his love of the beautiful in nature and cultivation, of the rare union of taste and practical good sense in the management of his estate, was evinced through his whole life.

Of his social qualities and traits of domestic life it is hardly

within the province of such a memoir to speak at large. Before even alluding to these, it is proper to refer to the part he took in the benevolent enterprises of the day, as well as in the promotion of the interests of education, and the support of the civil institutions of the Commonwealth. He was an early advocate of the Temperance Reform, and presided over the first State Temperance Convention in the Commonwealth, at Worcester, in September, 1833, receiving a unanimous resolution of thanks of the vast body of its friends there congregated, for the very able and dignified manner in which he had performed the duties of the office. He was, for several years, President of the Worcester County Bible Society. He had an earnest and sincere conviction of his duty to God and the church, and never wavered in the respect with which he observed the offices and ministrations of religion, and bore testimony to his belief in the truths of revelation. The touching and appreciative tribute paid to his memory by the Reverend Pastor of the Church of which he was a member, on the sabbath after his interment, gives us an insight into his religious character, and can leave no doubt of the sincerity of the faith which he professed.

Although he retired from public life in 1845, and declined the place of Senator in Congress when it was offered to him in 1854, he continued to be called upon, from time to time, to serve for brief periods in responsible and important public trusts. In 1847, he was selected, from his known interest in the maintenance of an effective militia system, which he had evinced through his whole career, to serve upon a commission to revise the existing laws upon that subject, and report a system for organizing and disciplining the militia of the Commonwealth, and this he did, by an able and well-considered report, which became the basis of important legislative action. In 1854, a commission was constituted to examine into and report as to the number and condition of the Insane in the Commonwealth, to which Mr. Lincoln was ap-

pointed. And, though the principal labor of detail was performed by one of his associates, his aid in completing the work, and in preparing an able and satisfactory statement of its results, was of great value and importance.

His interest in the cause of learning and education was manifested in various ways, and upon all suitable occasions. It was seen in his public messages and addresses, as well as his personal services in connection with the institutions of learning. The committee of the House, to whom the *first* report of the Board of Education, made in 1838, was committed, thus speak of what he had done towards inaugurating the scheme of Normal schools, to which reference has already been made. "The friends of universal education have long looked to the Legislature for the establishment of one or more seminaries devoted to the purpose of supplying qualified teachers for the town and district schools, by whose action, alone, other judicious provisions of law could be carried into full effect. At various times the deliberation of both branches of the General Court has been bestowed upon this, among other subjects, most intimately relating to the benefit of the rising generation and all generations to come after us, particularly when the provision for instruction of school-teachers was specially urged upon their consideration in 1827, by the message of the Governor; and a report thereupon, accompanied by a bill, was submitted by the chairman, following out, to their fair conclusions, the suggestion of the Executive." So that, whatever may have been the services of others afterwards, it was proper that this tribute to the part thus early taken in the matter by Governor Lincoln, should be repeated in this connection. He was, for many years, a member and President of the Board of Trustees of that venerable institution, Leicester Academy, which was founded in 1784, and of which his father had been a member and its president, as early as the year 1800. He was always a stanch and active friend and patron of Harvard College, his Alma Mater, and, for many years, a member of

her Board of Overseers. In return, he was honored by more than one of the Colleges of the Commonwealth, with gratifying expressions of respect for his public services, and his private worth. In 1824, the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Williams College, and a like honor was bestowed by Harvard College in 1826. He was one of the founders of the American Antiquarian Society, and its Senior Vice-President at the time of his death. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1859. In the success of both these associations, he took a lively interest; and yet he made no particular pretensions to the character of a scholar or a man of science. His life had been eminently one of action; and the various positions of professional and political service, which he was called to fill, left little leisure for the pursuits of literature or scholarship. His knowledge, however, was varied and extensive; and his taste had been improved by a constant association with men of culture and refinement. He made no pretensions to what he did not feel that he had a right to claim. Beyond his public and official addresses and messages, he has left little that was published. Much of that which he did leave, related to matters of local interest. Of his Executive Messages, it may be said, without reserve, that they show a thorough knowledge of the subjects of which they treat. They are full, clear, and direct; and, if their style may sometimes be regarded as diffuse, it is to be ascribed to that ready command of apt and expressive forms of speech which characterized all his public performances. He addressed a letter to his successor, upon his retiring from the Executive chair, which was published by order of the Senate, in which he briefly reviews the principal transactions with which his administration of the office had been connected, many of which have not been even alluded to in these pages, in speaking of that period of his life: such as the revision, collation, and arrangment of the colonial and provincial and general statutes; the trigonometrical survey of the Commonwealth; the publication

of the geological report of the features, natural scenery, and character of the country; the gratifying improvements in the condition of the State Prison, the progress and condition of the Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, with other less important measures. In closing, he adds, and we quote it as an illustration of the sentiment of the man, and the style of the writer: "Grateful to my fellow-citizens, in a depth of feeling which I have no language to express, for the many repeated and unmerited honors which they have conferred upon me, I go now to the retirement of private life, to manifest, by the only means in my power, my sense of obligation in the discharge of the more humble but not less imperative duties of a faithful citizen, giving his vote and his influence, whatever it may be, to uphold the glorious fabric of free government, to preserve the Union of these States, and to strengthen and confirm for an inheritance to the latest generation, the institutions of piety and learning, humanity and benevolence, which are the boast of the present age, and so pre-eminently the enjoyment of our own prosperous and happy Commonwealth." It is hardly necessary to add, that this pledge thus solemnly and affectionately given, was most faithfully kept to the last. He stood as calmly and as firmly in his fidelity to the Union and respect for the Constitution and the law, during the darkest hour of the Rebellion, as in the most prosperous days of the republic, and was as true to his loyalty.

Among the publications of Mr. Lincoln which remain, was an address delivered by him at the consecration of the Worcester Rural Cemetery in 1838. It shows learning, fine taste, pure and elevated sentiment, and was associated as a work of consecration, with the spot in which so many of his hearers were to repose, at last, together. "I pause here," are its words, "in thoughtful contemplation. We stand, this day, upon the virgin soil of this fair field, with which no crumbling clay of humanity ever yet has mingled. To-morrow it may be ours to inhabit it. Henceforth, when we here

assemble, it will be in silence and in tears, to commit the remains of some loved one to the dust, over which we have trodden ; and again and again shall the grave be opened, until, one after another, *all* shall be gathered to their mother earth." It was, indeed, his commission to see these eloquent words made history of most of the vast assembly who had gathered upon the yet unbroken soil of that beautiful receptacle of the dead, and beneath that autumn sky, within the thirty years which were yet to be added to his already mature life, before it was to become his own resting-place.

Of his speeches in Congress, only two are now before us. Of one of these we have already spoken. The other is a bold and manly defence of Mr. Adams against the attempt which was made to censure him in Congress, for even proposing to the Speaker the question, how far a petition, purporting to come from slaves, would fall within the rule of the House in respect to the vexed question of the right of petition ? The subject has indeed lost much of its importance in the progress of events. But the circumstance has still a personal significance and interest, from the promptness and power with which Mr. Lincoln threw himself into the conflict, and the readiness he evinced to maintain the right of petition, and vindicate the conduct and character of the North.

His last public speech was made while presiding at an immense gathering of the people, in Faneuil Hall, in December, 1859, on which occasion Mr. Everett also made an eloquent address. Though he had been so long withdrawn from a participation in popular meetings, he stood before the multitude which crowded that hall, with all the grace and dignity which had marked his best efforts in middle life, and showed himself the same earnest and eloquent advocate for what he thought was right, that he had ever been. And he found in return as hearty a response, in the applause of those who listened to him, as he had ever received when he led in the councils of the State.

It is not within the plan of this memoir to dwell upon the local published addresses or reports which occasionally called for the exercise of his voice or pen, though we ought not to pass to what relates more immediately to the personal relations of private life, without a word or two upon what entered so much into his success as a public man, his manner as a citizen and his eloquence as a popular debater. His manner in his intercourse with others was easy, graceful, and dignified, though, at times, it partook somewhat of the stately. He was always self-possessed, and, in private, was free, social, and often playful. He had nothing of austerity in his constitution, and no one could enter more readily into the pleasant humor of others. Nor was he capable of doing a rude or ungentlemanly act from carelessness, bad temper, or want of familiarity with good breeding. His form was erect, his step firm and elastic, and all his movements were graceful. His bearing was that of a gentleman of the old school, and he never was betrayed into language or conduct unbecoming one of that class. Manners like these, with a good figure, fine voice, and graceful action, gave force and effect to his efforts as an advocate and an orator. He had clear and decided views upon the subjects in which he engaged, and these he enforced with an earnestness and sincerity, which hardly ever failed to command a lively interest in those to whom they were addressed. His ready fluency and command of fit and choice language to which we have alluded, were rarely excelled. He never hesitated for a word, and the right one always seemed to come at his bidding. He aimed to be master of his subject, and rarely, if ever, failed to make himself understood. One pleasure in listening to him was the assurance which every one felt, that he was adequate to the occasion, and that the cause he advocated would not suffer in his hands. He was, as we have said, earnest in his manner, and sometimes impassioned; but he never violated the laws of courtesy in debate, nor descended to harshness of epithet, or rudeness in language, or an unbecom-

ing retort upon an adversary. With these advantages in his favor, he was able to grapple with great and important subjects; and if he failed to reach the highest flights of eloquence, he had few superiors at the bar, or in the popular assembly, as an effective advocate and orator. Nor should the unselfish fidelity with which he stood by a friend to the last be forgotten. He was, withal, a man of business and detail. He managed his private affairs with judgment and skill, and gave to them his personal care and attention. Through life he maintained such a course of dealing with others, that his word was always as good as his bond. There was nothing stingy or contracted in his economy, or habits of thrift. He was generous in his benefactions, ever ready to respond to the calls of beneficence; and in his style of living and the character of his hospitality he evinced the generous spirit and refined taste which characterized all his social intercourse. His house was the pleasant resort of strangers, while its doors were ever open to his friends and his townsmen, to welcome them to the graceful hospitalities which it supplied. Much of this was due to the congenial tastes and views of his wife, who was a fit associate and companion for one who enjoyed so highly the comforts and elegances of a well-ordered home. She was a daughter of William Sever, Esq., of Kingston, a well-known family in the old Colony, and might trace back her lineage to the Winslows and Warrens of the "Mayflower." She yet survives him, sharing largely in the respect and esteem of a wide circle of appreciative friends. Three of their sons and a daughter also survive him. One son had fallen in the lifetime of the father, while gallantly leading a charge in the Battle of Buena Vista, in the war with Mexico.

It is rare that a public man who has once left the stage of action, after having filled a part as important as that which had signalized the life of Governor Lincoln, has either occasion or opportunity to illustrate, in fact, how much he retains of the spirit and capacity which may have characterized the period of

mature and vigorous manhood. But, in his case, the war of the Rebellion aroused within him all the zeal and patriotic ardor which he had felt in the flush of early manhood. And, what was equally marked, it seemed to inspire in him an equal vigor of body. He spoke and acted at the age of fourscore, as if he had the stake of a young man's life in the honor of his country, and the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union. He never lost heart, nor suffered himself to doubt the ultimate triumph of the government, and did much to animate young men to fill the ranks of the army and fight under the flag of the republic. A son did efficient service at the head of a regiment, and was permanently disabled by wounds received in battle. Two grandsons, also, did credit to their parentage in the same service. His zeal and efforts in the cause ceased only with the war, and his words of cheer and encouragement will long be remembered by those who listened to them through the long and dreary period of our civil war. Active, self-reliant, and self-sustained through this exciting period, the time came at last, when the powers of a fine constitution and an ardent temperament gave way before the insidious approaches of a fatal disease. A few months before his death he suffered a slight attack of paralysis. But it was the precursor of the approach of the brief but final sickness which closed his busy, useful, and honored life. He died on the 29th of May, 1868.

His decease was the occasion for expressions of respect for his memory, and of sympathy for the family, from the press, the highest officials of the Commonwealth, and the numerous associations with which he then was or had been connected. A public official order issued by the Governor, recognized, in fitting and appropriate terms, "the dignity and grace of his long life closing in the veneration and esteem of all." The Legislature, then in session, commemorated the event by proceedings indicating their respect for his private worth and public services. The same was done by the City Council of Wor-

cester, by the Judges and Bar of the Supreme Judicial Court, then sitting at Worcester, by the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Directors of the Worcester National Bank, the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, and the Hingham and Worcester County Agricultural Societies.

The funeral solemnities, at his burial, were at once touching and imposing. The whole city was moved; and the citizens of the neighboring towns gathered along the sidewalks of its streets, or joined in the long procession that followed his remains from his late dwelling-house to the church, and from the church to the rural cemetery, in whose consecration he had taken a part. Business was suspended, and its places closed. An imposing *cortége* attended the body on its transit to its final resting-place, consisting of the Governor and his Council, Committees of the two Houses of the Legislature, the Independent Corps of Cadets, with their band playing a solemn dirge, together with numerous distinguished citizens from other parts of the Commonwealth, and citizens of Worcester. One feeling seemed to pervade the masses of the people, that the Commonwealth had lost one of her most honored and distinguished sons, whose life had long been identified with her history, the city of his home had lost a citizen loved and respected by all, and every one who had known him, a wise counsellor and a faithful friend. Deeply interesting services were held in the church where he was accustomed to worship, in which the Rev. Drs. Hill and Ellis took parts, and spoke of the deceased as only those who had known him intimately could have done, to those who crowded the edifice. And thus he died and was buried, the last, we believe, of that list of great and distinguished men, whose lives were associated with one of the most interesting and brilliant periods of Massachusetts History. Webster, John Davis, Choate, Everett, John Quincy Adams, Chief-Justice Shaw, Quincy, and now Lincoln, had all been contemporary, and present a collection of names never surpassed and rarely equalled in dignity, power, and influence, in a Commonwealth

whose pride and glory have been her sons. Extended as this memoir may seem to be, in justice to the subject it should be added, that it is necessarily unsatisfactory and incomplete, and, as such, must claim the indulgence which is due to the brief space which, at best, can be allowed to it, in the transactions of the Society under whose auspices it has been prepared.

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Syracuse, N. Y.
PAT. JAN. 21, 1909

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